

POLAND

The lengthy negotiations on Friday between Solidarity and the regime did not resolve key differences and may have only postponed a confrontation. [REDACTED]

Although both sides reportedly approached the talks in a businesslike manner, the agreements reached were only verbal and tentative and lack detail. On the most sensitive issue--recognition by Solidarity in its charter of the leading role of the party--the regime seemed to agree only that the Supreme Court would resolve the issue on 10 November. Union leader Lech Walesa has said that the 12 November "strike alert" will remain in effect. (C)

The government may hope that it can work out some accommodation this week with the moderates in Solidarity who say to accept some reference to the party's role. The regime also may hope it can turn public opinion again to strike and reportedly will undertake a publicity campaign emphasizing that Solidarity is now registered and that the new union should start acting responsibly. If the regime does not intend to compromise, it has nine days to prepare for a strike. [REDACTED]

The apparent lack of specific agreements probably will not weaken the resolve of the more militant members of Solidarity. They will point to the government's behavior as just another effort to stall and as an indication that it cannot be trusted. The militants probably will not be able to precipitate any dramatic action by Solidarity before 12 November; the moderates will argue that the regime must be given another chance to show its willingness to cooperate. The Solidarity leadership will meet again this evening to discuss tactics. [REDACTED]

Polish and Soviet media commentary on the Kania-Brezhnev meeting on Thursday has followed closely the language of the communique that indicated a measure of Soviet support for the Kania regime.

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If Kania got Brezhnev's blessing for the concessions needed to forestall a general strike, he succeeded in making the Soviets party to the latest effort to appease the union. He also made it easier for Warsaw to live with the shrill criticism emanating from East Berlin and Prague.

Should the regime find itself under new pressure for concessions that go beyond what Kania appears to have extracted from Moscow, the Polish leadership may be in a serious jam. The coming days should provide indications of the direction the Polish crisis may take. They include:

- Signs that the verbal understanding is taking root or fraying.
- Whether the Supreme Court registers the charter by 10 November as agreed on Friday.
- Evidence how East Berlin and Prague react to the situation. Their continued criticism could pressure Moscow to reconsider the parameters set for Kania to conciliate the union.

East German Reaction

The East Germans continue to warn the Poles and the East German populace that the Soviets and East Germans will intervene in Poland if necessary.

The party newspaper *Neues Deutschland* last Wednesday used very harsh language to make this point. The paper printed an alleged summary of an article that appeared in the Polish Army daily paper to stress that Poland is in the Soviet sphere of interest and has "allies on all sides" who are concerned about Polish internal security. The article also makes clear that the government will continue to limit the East German populace's personal contacts with Poles and West Germans.

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East German party leader Honecker [redacted]

[redacted] that the East Germans were abrogating a treaty with Poland that provided for visa-free travel for Poles and East Germans in part because alleged antisocialist groups in Poland were misusing the treaty to disseminate anti-Communist and anti-Soviet slogans outside Poland. The party leader also justified the regime's action by saying that "imperialists"-- particularly the West Germans--have launched an intense propaganda campaign to denigrate the accomplishments of socialism in Poland and that this campaign is also directed against East Germany. Public reaction in East Germany to the government's responses to the events in Poland could cause the regime--already nervous and insecure--to continue to overreact. [redacted]

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